

European Power, but they were intended to be taken as a whole. The fate of the project depended on Germany, whose signature was desired for all three. All roads now led to Berlin. Hitler indicated that he would gladly sign the Western Air Pact; that he was ready for pacts of non-aggression in Eastern Europe (except in regard to Lithuania, the owner of Memel), though not for a military guarantee; and that in regard to Austria the meaning of non-intervention must be defined. Thus the Anglo-French scheme vanished almost as soon as it was born. Its essence, but also its weakness, was its comprehensive character; and it came too late.

Hitler's ready acceptance of an Air Pact tempered disappointment at his attitude to the other items, and an invitation to Sir John Simon to visit Berlin for discussion was promptly accepted; but before it was paid two events occurred which revived the suspicion of both sides. On March 4 an argumentative White Paper, initialled by MacDonald and dated March 1, called attention to Germany's illegal rearmament, deplored the failure of what was described as our policy of unilateral disarmament, and announced the decision, in the name of national and Imperial security, to increase expenditure on the three Defence Services. In a passage angrily resented in Germany, attention was called to the systematic militarization of youth practised by the Nazi party as an element in the general feeling of insecurity. The White Paper was not without its critics at home, and the moment chosen for publication was unfortunate. It was asserted by Liberal and Labour spokesmen that opportunities for agreed limitation had been lost at Geneva, and that our participation in the renewed armament race was more likely to intensify than

to diminish  
the peril. Whatever may be thought of its tone  
and wording,  
it reflected a widespread conviction that the  
prospect of the  
maintenance of peace had diminished. The  
first note of  
alarm had already been struck in the previous  
year when, a  
large increase in our air force was announced, and  
Mr. Baldwin  
declared in memorable words on July 10, 1934,  
that our  
frontier was no longer on the chalk cliffs of Dover  
but on the  
Rhine. Our rearmament had begun at last,  
though its *tempo*  
was slow, and the Opposition continued to resist  
it till the  
summer of 1938. It was a serious error not to  
utilize the  
dynamic energy of Mr. Churchill in preparing for  
the worst.

It was now Hitler's turn to contribute to the  
general *malaise*.  
On March 16, 1935, the German Government  
announced the